

## Message Text

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PAGE 01 STATE 170109  
ORIGIN SS-15

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 SSO-00 /016 R

66011

DRAFTED BY:EUR/RPM:PBSWIERS

APPROVED BY:EUR: MPARRIS

EUR/SE:RCEWING

S/S-O:MCEURVORST

-----028225 061039Z /21

R 060210Z JUL 78

FM SECSTATE WASHDC

INFO USDEL MC

USDOCOSOUTH

USNMR SHAPE

C O N F I D E N T I A L STATE 170109

EXDIS MILITARY TREAT AS SPECAT EXCLUSIVE

FOLLOWING REPEAT ATHENS 5575 ACTION SECSTATE INFO ANKARA, NICOSIA,  
AND USNATO DATED JUNE 30, 1978.

QUOTE: C O N F I D E N T I A L ATHENS 5575

EXDIS

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PEPR, GR, TU

SUBJECT: KARAMANLIS' MOOD

REF: STATE 161694

1. TO PUT THE BEST FACE ON OUR CONVERSATION YESTERDAY,  
PRIME MINISTER KARAMANLIS PROMISED TO LOOK BEYOND THE  
OUTCOME OF CONGRESSIONAL ACTION ON THE TURKISH EMBARGO  
AND SUGGEST MEANS BY WHICH THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN GREECE  
CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 02 STATE 170109

AND THE UNITED STATES MIGHT BE BROADENED AND DEEPENDED.  
THIS WAS IN RESPONSE TO MY COMMENT THAT TOGETHER I HOPED  
WE COULD RESET OUR SIGHTS, ASSURING HIM THAT WAS AN  
ADMINISTRATION OBJECTIVE.

2. THIS ABOVE EXCHANGE DEVELOPED ONLY AFTER HE HAD  
REPEATED SOME FAMILIAR COMPLAINTS ABOUT HOW HIS EFFORTS TO

INSTALL GREECE PERMANENTLY IN THE WEST REMAIN FRUSTRATED AS A RESULT OF SPOILING TACTICS BY TURKEY, LACK OF UNDERSTANDING BY GREECE'S NATURAL ALLIES, INCLUDING THE U.S., AND DOMESTIC POLITICAL OPPOSITION.

3. AMONG THE ARGUMENTS HE MADE YESTERDAY:

-TURKEY HAS BEEN PERMITTED, OWING TO THE INDIFFERENCE OR ACQUIESCENCE OF NATO MEMBERS, TO CREATE OBSTACLES TO GREECE'S REINTEGRATION INTO THE ALLIANCE BY ITS INSISTENCE THAT AIR AND SEA COMMANDS IN THE AEGEAN WHICH WERE IN DISPUTE BEFORE GREECE'S WITHDRAWAL BE SETTLED AS A CONDITION FOR HER REENTRY. THIS PLAYS INTO OPPOSITION DEMANDS HERE THAT GREECE WITHDRAW FROM NATO ALTOGETHER. IF THIS SITUATION WERE TO DEVELOP IT WOULD PLACE IN JEOPARDY THE LEGAL BASIS ON WHICH U.S. MILITARY FACILITIES ARE PERMITTED HERE;

-TURKEY IS INTERFERING UNWARRANTEDLY IN THE PROCESS OF GREECE'S ACCESSION TO THE EC BY ITS DEMANDS FOR SPECIAL POLITICAL LIAISON WITH THE COMMUNITY AND RAISING FALSE ALARMS THAT GREECE WILL INTERPOSE ITS SIDE OF THE GREEK-TURKISH DISPUTES IN A NEW FORUM.

-OTHER ALLIANCE AND EC MEMBERS APPEAR DISINTERESTED IN THE FATE OF GREECE AND SEEM WILLING TO ACT ONLY IN RESPONSE TO THE IMPORTUNINGS OF TURKEY. ANKARA'S  
CONFIDENTIAL

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PAGE 03 STATE 170109

"BLACKMAIL" IS REWARDED AT THE EXPENSE OF ATHENS. SUCH CONTINUED NEGLECT COULD LEAD TO THE LOSS OF GREECE TO THE WEST AND NO ONE SEEMS TO CARE;

-TURKEY'S CONTEMPT AND DISREGARD FOR COMPLIANCE WITH UN RESOLUTIONS GOES UNNOTICED.

4. AS COUNTERPOINT, KARAMANLIS ARGUED THAT GREECE HAS BOTH ACCEPTED AND INITIATED COMPROMISES AS A MARK OF ITS EARNEST TO SETTLE DISPUTES WITH TURKEY. HE CITED HIS SUPPORT FOR THE PRINCIPLES AGREED TO BY MAKARIOS FOR NEGOTIATIONS ON CYPRUS AND GREECE'S FILING A BRIEF WITH THE HAGUE COURT THEREBY ALLOWING FOR ARBITRATION OF DIFFERENCES IN THE AEGEAN. THE TURKS HAVE EITHER RETREATED OR RESISTED MOVING AHEAD. ABOUT CYPRUS NOW HE ADDS THAT IT WOULD BE BETTER IF TURKEY HAD NOT ADVANCED ITS "NON-NEGOTIABLE" PROPOSALS AND THE INTERCOMMUNAL PARTIES MADE A CLEAN NEW START.

5. IN ALL OF THIS IT IS PLAIN THAT KARAMANLIS ASSUMES AN INSENSITIVITY ON OUR PART TO SEE THE ISSUES AS HE SEES THEM. HE IS BEDEVILED BY TURKEY AND IS PRONE TO TRANSFER

THE RESPONSIBILITY FOR THE FRUSTRATION OF HIS OBJECTIVES TO THE UNITED STATES. IN KARAMANLIS' VIEW WE GIVE A HIGHER PRIORITY TO HIS ADVERSARY THAN WE DO TO HIM. HE PORTRAYS HIMSELF AND GREECE AS UNQUESTIONING SUPPORTERS OF THE U.S., SEEING TO AVOID ACTING CONTRARY TO OUR INTERESTS "LIKE THE TURKS WHO CLOSED YOUR BASES WHEN THEY DIDN'T LIKE WHAT YOU DID."

6. I ASSURED THE PRIME MINISTER THAT OUR POLICY WAS NOT ONE OF CHOOSING BETWEEN TURKEY AND GREECE AND REMINDED HIM THAT ONLY VERY RECENTLY WE ACTED IN SPECIFIC WAYS TO ACCOUNT FOR HIS CONCERNS - I.E.,

-PRESIDENT CARTER'S PERSONAL INTERVENTIONS ON THE NATO  
CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 04 STATE 170109

SUMMIT COMMUNIQUE;

-SECRETARY VANCE'S STATEMENT OF U.S. RESOLVE AGAINST  
PROVOCATIONS IN THE AEGEAN;

-THE DEPARTMENT'S STATEMENT OF SUPPORT FOR GREEK SOVEREIGNTY  
OVER THE ISLANDS IN THE AEGEAN;

-THE ADMINISTRATION'S MASSIVE EFFORT TO EXPAND TURKISH PROPOSALS ON CYPRUS, AND THEREFORE IT IS UNJUSTIFIED TO CONCLUDE THAT WE ARE INDIFFERENT TOWARDS GREECE. THIS CAME AFTER I HAD MADE THE POINTS IN REFTEL WITH REGARD TO THE NATO REINTEGRATION PROCESS. WHILE HE EXPRESSED APPRECIATION FOR THE SECRETARY'S FOLLOW-THROUGH, I HAD THE IMPRESSION THAT HE BOGGLED AT THE CONDITIONAL LANGUAGE IN THE LAST POINT ALTHOUGH HE MADE NO SPECIFIC REFERENCE TO IT.

7. TO MY QUESTION AS TO WHETHER ONE SHOULD EXPECT PROMISE FROM THE RESUMPTION OF GREEK-TURKISH TALKS ON JULY 4 KARAMANLIS WAS EQUALLY DISCOURAGING. HIS NON-AGGRESSION PROPOSAL WOULD BE PUT FORWARD. ECEVIT'S "YES, BUT" RESPONSE WAS NO MORE PROMISING THAN THAT OF DEMIREL WHO LET IT LAPSE WHEN GREECE HAD ADVANCED IT ONCE BEFORE. "THE KEY TO RESOLVING ALL OF OUR PROBLEMS IS IN ANKARA. IT IS SIMPLY A MATTER OF POLITICAL WILL FOR TURKEY TO USE IT," HE CONCLUDES. FOR NOW, KARAMANLIS DOES NOT EXPECT THAT TO HAPPEN.

8. AS I WAS LEAVING THE PRIME MINISTER GAVE ME A MEMORANDUM WHICH SPEELS OUT GREEK POSITIONS ON CYPRUS AND THE BILATERAL ISSUES WITH TURKEY. IT IS SIMILAR TO A PAPER GIVEN TO CLARK CLIFFORD LAST YEAR. WE ARE POUCHING IT TO THE DEPARTMENT.  
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PAGE 05 STATE 170109

9. P.S. - SINCE DRAFTING ABOVE AND READING ANKARA'S 4809,  
USNATO 6488 AND GENERAL HAIG'S POSITIVE REMARKS, I AM  
CONCERNED THAT A FAILURE TO FOLLOW THROUGH NOW WITH  
TURKEY WILL, IF LEARNED, BE SEEN HERE AS OUR HAVING WELSHED  
ON A PROMISE.  
MCCLOSKEY UNQUOTE VANCE

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## Message Attributes

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**Channel Indicators:** n/a  
**Current Classification:** UNCLASSIFIED  
**Concepts:** ALLIANCE, DISPUTE SETTLEMENT, DIPLOMATIC DISCUSSIONS, INTERGOVERNMENTAL COOPERATION, OPPOSITION TO ADMISSION  
**Control Number:** n/a  
**Copy:** SINGLE  
**Draft Date:** 06 jul 1978  
**Decaption Date:** 20 Mar 2014  
**Decaption Note:** 25 YEAR REVIEW  
**Disposition Action:** RELEASED  
**Disposition Approved on Date:**  
**Disposition Case Number:** n/a  
**Disposition Comment:** 25 YEAR REVIEW  
**Disposition Date:** 20 Mar 2014  
**Disposition Event:**  
**Disposition History:** n/a  
**Disposition Reason:**  
**Disposition Remarks:**  
**Document Number:** 1978STATE170109  
**Document Source:** CORE  
**Document Unique ID:** 00  
**Drafter:** EUR/RPM:PBSWIERS  
**Enclosure:** n/a  
**Executive Order:** GS  
**Errors:** N/A  
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**Original Handling Restrictions:** EXDIS  
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**Page Count:** 4  
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**Previous Handling Restrictions:** EXDIS  
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**Review Event:**  
**Review Exemptions:** n/a  
**Review Media Identifier:**  
**Review Release Date:** n/a  
**Review Release Event:** n/a  
**Review Transfer Date:**  
**Review Withdrawn Fields:** n/a  
**SAS ID:** 2101747  
**Secure:** OPEN  
**Status:** NATIVE  
**Subject:** KARAMANLIS' MOOD  
**TAGS:** PEPR, MARR, GR, US, TU, NATO, (MCCLOSKEY, ROBERT J), (KARAMANLIS, CONSTANTINE)  
**To:** USDEL MC USDOCOSOUTH MULTIPLE  
**Type:** TE  
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**Review Markings:**  
Sheryl P. Walter  
Declassified/Released  
US Department of State  
EO Systematic Review  
20 Mar 2014  
**Markings:** Sheryl P. Walter Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 20 Mar 2014